



CEPPS/NDI Final Report

KOSOVO: Building a Democratic Political System through Sustainable Political Parties, a Democratic Legislature, and Strengthened Citizen Political Participation

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I. SUMMARY

Lasting peace and stability in Kosovo, regardless of its ultimate status, will require democratic political parties that can represent constituent concerns, governing institutions that can function in an inclusive and democratic manner, and a civil society that can participate actively in political and legislative processes. In 2003, Kosovo's political parties, governing bodies, and civic groups continued to work toward these goals by drafting ideological platforms inclusive of member contributions, passing legislation that reflected constituent input and working with their local governments to solve the issues most important to citizens. As proof of the progress that has been made, civil society, legislative and party leaders engaged citizens in a public debate on electoral code reform to inform citizens about the potential benefits of different systems.

The debate on the electoral code gained momentum in the winter of 2003 and continued into 2004. The coalition of three civic society organizations (CSOs) that led the debate received training and technical assistance from NDI. It grew to include more than 120 organizations representing women and all the major ethnic groups and advocated to political party leaders, diplomatic offices, and the working group tasked with advising the U.N. Special Representative to the Secretary General (SRSG). Through January 2004 the topic dominated the media, and by the end of January, continued public discussion of the topic compelled political party leaders and prominent members of the Central Assembly to articulate a position to their constituents. The public attention generated on the topic resulted in the SRSG delaying his decision until March. Regardless of whether the coalition succeeds in achieving its goal, the group ran the largest and most publicly discussed advocacy campaign to change public policy in Kosovo to date. It marks a turning point for Kosovar citizens, who are becoming increasingly capable of showing their political parties and elected officials that citizens will hold their leaders accountable for their decisions.

Since 1999, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI or the Institute) has worked with Kosovo's elected officials and citizens to build stable, multiethnic and transparent democratic institutions responsive to citizen input. In 2003, NDI's program supported decentralized decision-making processes in political parties; assisted legislators in enacting good governance legislation and incorporating citizens into the process; and engaged CSOs and youth groups as they organized issue-based advocacy campaigns to improve citizen inclusion in the decision-making process. The specific objectives of NDI's program were the following:

- Political parties working with NDI demonstrate decentralized decision-making processes with increased leadership opportunities for municipal level, youth and women representatives;
- Political parties working with NDI progress toward internal democratic structures that demonstrate transparency and accountability to party membership and to the public;
- Political parties working with NDI develop the capacity to determine and articulate policy priorities, while providing evident choice to the public;
- Participants in the NDI Training of Trainers (TOT) program provide the skills needed for parties to expand their constituent base, develop consistent political themes, and increase involvement of members and constituents in the political process;
- Legislators in the Central and Municipal Assemblies make decisions that reflect the needs and interests of citizens;
- Legislators in the Central Assembly gain the ability and information needed to consider and enact good governance legislation and regulations on parliamentary operations;
- Committee structures serve as a forum for multi-party, multi-ethnic cooperation and facilitate public participation leading to laws that are better drafted, understood, and accepted by key constituencies;
- The Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms (CDHRF) and its affiliated network NGOs monitor, report on, and make available to the public reports intended to hold Municipal and Central Assembly government accountable while increasing transparency;
- Organized citizens engage elected and public officials at the Central and Municipal Assembly levels to advocate for policy change; and
- An informed network of youth leaders is created that advocates to municipal and parliamentary government institutions for public policy change.

Throughout 2003 and into January of 2004,¹ through training and consultations, NDI supported political parties by providing strategies for gathering information from members to develop an ideological platform. In addition, the Institute assisted elected officials as they organized public hearings and other constituency outreach efforts. Finally, NDI worked with civic groups as they advocated for issues of concern to citizens, such as installing handicapped ramps in public buildings, forming a youth parliament to aggregate the concerns of youth, and formalizing procedures for municipal assemblies to solicit citizens' opinions. Specific results identified throughout the 13-month period include the following:

¹ NDI's agreement was scheduled to end on December 31, 2003, but the Institute received a no-cost extension until January 31, 2004.

- The Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK) and the Liberals of Serbia and Kosovo-Metohija (LSKM) branch members contributed to their respective party's draft policy statement before adoption at the parties' conventions.
- The Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK) and AAK produced documents delineating party leadership and responsibilities for party headquarters.
- *Vatan* completed its membership database and began establishing a membership roll. It is the first Bosnian party to do so. The Turkish Democratic Party of Kosovo (KDTP) developed and is maintaining a membership database in Turkish. The LDK, PDK and AAK party headquarters and branches in Gjilan began compiling membership databases.
- The Committee for Public Services in the Central Assembly held a public hearing on the Law on Access to Public Document at the beginning of the year, it was only the second public hearing ever held in the Assembly. The law was later promulgated by UNMIK.
- The Committee on Constitutional, Judicial and Legislative Matters and the Gender Equality Committee held a joint public hearing on the Anti-Discrimination and the Gender Equality Laws. The Gender Equality Law is the first law drafted in committee and in January 2004, the law was sent to the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) for promulgation.
- Municipal assemblies in Ferizaj and Gjilan developed and began implementation of a constituent relations plan to solicit citizen input on their initiatives.
- A CSO in Obiliq worked with the Municipal Assembly to establish a working group on returning internally displaced persons (IDPs). As a result, the CSO and the working group facilitated a visit of a delegation of 20 Serb IDPs to Obiliq.
- NDI's partners publicized 29 monitoring reports in 2003 and January 2004. All the reports covered the work of the respective Municipal Assembly, with the exception of the CDHRF reports, which covered 11 municipalities and the Central Assembly. CSOs held press conferences to release their reports and outline their findings and recommendations. The press conferences received electronic and print media coverage by such outlets as RTK, KTV, TV 21, *Koha Ditore*, *Kosova Sot* and *Bota Sot*.
- Following monitoring and a public debate by the local CSO, *Flaka*, the Lipjan Municipal Assembly overcame an eight-month gridlock to form its three core committees and announced vacancies for the directors of the Municipal Assembly departments within the executive branch.
- The Decan Municipal Assembly passed a regulation on environmental protection, drafted entirely by an NDI youth partner.
- An Ashkali group in Fushe Kosove/Kosovo Polje secured funding from a donor to construct a multiethnic kindergarten, the first of its kind in Kosovo.
- In Prizren, Klina, and Decan youth groups successfully advocated to their respective assemblies for appointing a youth official or establishing a committee responsible for introducing the budget for youth and including youth groups in planning activities.
- Handikos in Pristina received representation, including voting rights, in three Municipal Assembly committees: health, education and urban planning.²

² Non-elected officials may sit on municipal committees in Kosovo and any decision made by the committee must be passed by the Assembly.

- Following a campaign involving seven Municipal Assemblies (Peja, Klina, Istog, Rahovec, Skenderaj, Malisheva and Gjakova), NDI's partner youth group in Peja convinced the Municipal Assembly to repatriate families living in the dorms to their municipalities of origin. This is the first region-wide campaign conducted by a youth group on a volunteer basis.
- Youth Revival and representatives from the Kosovo Youth Network (KYN) and the LDK, PDK, and AAK youth branches formed a youth parliament to aggregate the opinions of young people to present to decisionmakers.

As a result of technical assistance provided by NDI in 2003, political parties began to transform from highly centralized bodies and to incorporate member input into their party platforms and decision-making processes. Parties are beginning to develop membership lists and communication structures to gather and disseminate party information to be used to develop ideological platforms to provide choice for voters in the 2004 Central Assembly elections. Legislators also began to show greater understanding and more confidence in their abilities by holding public hearings on draft legislation and members of both the central and municipal assemblies spent more time listening to their constituents this year. Although legislators could be more pro-active, their openness to the requests of CSOs shows great promise for further development in this area. Finally, CSOs working with NDI continue to be enthusiastic about advocacy training, monitoring the work of their municipal assemblies, and working to include citizens in the decision-making processes of their respective assemblies. Through political process monitoring reports, public debates and meetings with decisionmakers, CSOs throughout Kosovo were successful in advocating to the municipal assemblies on such issues as providing opportunities for people with limited disabilities, impacting environmental legislation and creating public forums for youth to express their opinions on the future of Kosovo.

II. BACKGROUND

At the end of the conflict in 1999, UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1244 placed Kosovo under the administration of the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) until the final status of the province is decided. Before a decision is made, Kosovars must prove that, in addition to forming transparent, democratic institutions, they have the capacity to protect the human rights of all its citizens. As part of this process, UNMIK established the provisional institutions of self-government (PISG), which have the legislative and executive powers for the competencies granted to Kosovar citizens in the Constitutional Framework.

Citizens have voted in three rounds of elections for representatives in the PISG. As a result, political parties have developed into loose organizational structures and are becoming more adept at delivering messages. Unfortunately, at the beginning of 2003, party platforms continued to center on final status, and decisionmaking in political parties was still centralized. In addition, the PISG continued to clash with their international counterparts over competencies and, as a result, devoted less time to the powers they do have. As of January 2003, only six laws had been passed by the Central Assembly in its first year of operation and no draft legislation had been the subject of a public hearing to solicit input from citizens on content. Finally, civil society organizations (CSOs) began the process of reaching out to citizens to identify issues of community concern and advocating to their municipal assemblies for change in these matters,

but they found that many local decisionmakers were more interested in addressing the interests of international organizations than their own constituents.

As the first non-election year since 2000, political parties were afforded the opportunity to begin to develop internal structures, compile realistic membership lists, and draft ideological platforms in 2003. In addition, elected officials proved to be more confident in their new responsibilities and, therefore, more open to citizen input on their actions. The Central Assembly passed 30 laws in 2003, and seven committees held at least one public hearing each. With the PISG becoming more responsive to citizen input, CSOs increased their efforts and found elected officials to be more responsive to their advocacy campaigns.

Since 1999, NDI has worked with Kosovo's elected officials and citizens to build stable, multiethnic and transparent democratic institutions responsive to citizen input. NDI has assisted political parties on basic elements of election preparation; the Central Assembly on developing the capacity of individual members, committees, parliamentary leaders, and political groups (caucuses) to understand their roles as elected representatives; and CSOs on political participation through citizen education, nonpartisan election monitoring, political process monitoring, and advocacy. Throughout 2003 and into January 2004, NDI's program aimed at supporting decentralized decision-making processes in political parties, with specific attention paid to underrepresented groups, including local leaders, women and youth. In addition, the Institute focused on assisting legislators as they enacted good governance and transparency legislation and incorporated citizen concerns in the legislative agenda. Finally, through its civic program NDI engaged CSOs and youth groups with a view toward enhancing government transparency and accountability. Civic organizations monitored the work of the municipal and central assemblies and organized issue-based advocacy campaigns based on findings to improve citizen inclusion in the decision-making process. The specific objectives of NDI's 2003 program were the following:

Political Party Development

- Political parties working with NDI demonstrate decentralized decision-making processes with increased leadership opportunities for municipal level, youth and women representatives.
- Political parties working with NDI progress toward internal democratic structures that demonstrate transparency and accountability to party membership and to the public.
- Political parties working with NDI develop the capacity to determine and articulate policy priorities, while providing evident choice to the public.
- Participants in the NDI Training of Trainers (TOT) program provide the skills needed for parties to expand their constituent base, develop consistent political themes, and increase involvement of members and constituents in the political process.

Legislative Process Strengthening

- Legislators in the Central and Municipal Assemblies make decisions that reflect the needs and interests of citizens.

- Legislators in the Central Assembly gain the ability and information needed to consider and enact good governance legislation and regulations on parliamentary operations.
- Committee structures serve as a forum for multi-party, multi-ethnic cooperation and facilitate public participation leading to laws that are better drafted, understood, and accepted by key constituencies.

Citizen Political Participation

- The Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms (CDHRF) and its affiliated network NGOs monitor, report on, and make available to the public reports intended to hold the Central and Municipal Assemblies accountable while increasing transparency.
- Organized citizens engage political parties and elected and public officials at the Central and Municipal Assembly levels to advocate for policy change.
- An informed network of youth leaders is created that advocates to municipal and Kosovo-wide government institutions for public policy change.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Political Party Development

NDI's political party activities built on previous party assistance by working with a multiethnic group of principal Kosovar political parties on creating inclusive and transparent internal operations and sustainable party structures, and obtaining membership input into statutes, platforms, by-laws, party plans and policies.

NDI worked with the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK), the Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK), the New Party of Kosovo (PREK), the Albanian Christian Democratic Party of Kosovo (PSHDK), the Liberals of Serbia and Kosovo-Metohija (LSKM), the Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS), the Democratic Party (DS), the Turkish Democratic Party of Kosovo (KDTP), Homeland (Vatan), the New Initiative for Democracy in Kosovo (IRDK), the Democratic Ashkali Party of Kosovo (PDAK), the Democratic Union of Gjakova (UDGJ), the Bosnian Party of Democratic Action of Kosovo (BSDAK), Coalition Povratak (KP), the Liberal Party of Kosovo (PLK), the New Initiative for Democracy in Kosovo (IRDK), the United Roma Party of Kosovo (PREBK), the Justice Party (PD), and the Democratic Albanian Ashkali Party of Kosovo (PDASHK).

Training of Trainers

This year, NDI selected 70 of the 147 applicants for its training of trainers (TOT) program based on current professional skills, party position, and leadership potential to participate in either the "leadership," "staff development," or "membership education" groups. Participants trained by NDI were required to conduct sessions for their own parties on such topics as strategic planning, developing mission statements, building donor and volunteer databases, and managing party finances. In order to facilitate this, NDI held a supplemental session for 18 TOT participants on adult training methodology to hone their skills in delivering training sessions to fellow-party members. The Institute attended almost 80 of the sessions held

by TOT participants to evaluate the program and to provide TOT participants with feedback on their training. On December 7, the Institute held its TOT closeout ceremony, awarding certificates of completion to 14 participants who fulfilled all of the requirements throughout the year. Attrition and low party support of TOT in a non-election year led to this low graduation rate. Appendix One outlines the breakdown of participants by party, topic group, gender, and age and summarizes the dates and topics of NDI's sessions.

Membership Database

As part of the TOT program, participants received training on an Albanian-language membership and donor tracking database that NDI developed specifically for Kosovar political parties. The NDI consultant who designed the Microsoft Access database will continue to work with the Institute to develop any patches for the software should problems arise. Political parties have the consultant's contact information if they would like to hire him to make any additional changes to the database to better suit the specific needs of each party.

After TOT participants trained fellow party members on the database, NDI installed the database at the Gjilan branches of the LDK, PDK and AAK. In December 2003 and January 2004, NDI installed the membership database at the LDK, PDK and AAK headquarters and in several branch offices. Upon installation in each location, the Institute also provided training on database operation fundamentals to party staff members. By January, it was apparent that not all the offices possessed the appropriate technology to support the software, so NDI developed a questionnaire to assess which branches would be able to utilize the database. When this assessment is complete, NDI will continue to distribute the database to eligible branches.

Branch Training Sessions

In the third quarter, NDI met with LDK, PDK, and AAK senior party officers responsible for party organization to discuss local branch training sessions to supplement the TOT information, especially as it related to resource management and strategic planning for the 2004 Central Assembly elections. As a result, during the third and fourth quarters, NDI trained approximately 180 branch officers (presidents, vice presidents, secretaries, women's forum presidents, and youth activists) from the AAK, PDK, LDK, IRDK, BSDAK and Vatan, PDASHK, PSHDK, PSDK, PReK, PREBK and PLK from Gjilan, Kamenica, Viti, Ferizaj, Prizren, Shterpce, Hani i Elezit, Kacanik Dragash, Mitrovica, Vushtri, Peja, Istog, Deçan, Klina, Djakova, and Pristina. These sessions focused on the following:

- Researching and reporting party performance in the legislative and executive branches, both to party members and the general public;
- Setting specific goals for membership recruitment and fundraising at the local level; and
- Increasing voter contact and improving credibility of local branch offices.

Policy Development

NDI provided the opportunity for parties to have individual consultants to assist with internal policy and platform development. Due to the expense involved in bringing these

consultants, NDI required each participating party to sign a memorandum of understanding (MOU) stating the party's commitment to allow the party consultants full access to party members and documents and in return, NDI signed non-disclosure agreements with the party. Because this was the first time that NDI asked parties to sign anything, the Institute met some initial resistance. By the end of the year, AAK, PDK, LDK, KTDp, and BSDAK had signed MOUs.

Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK)

In the second quarter, NDI consultant Michael O'Reilly (Ireland – Fine Gael) conducted an initial assessment of the policy development procedure within the party. O'Reilly concluded the party's platform lacked sufficient policy content and what was available was not in usable form. O'Reilly recommended the party form a policy development strategy; create the first draft of a policy; and hire a policy director and a director of communications. This process required structural change within the party to formalize internal communication between the policy council and the parliamentary group on long- and medium-term policy development.

As a result, the AAK formed a policy development group that met daily for two weeks and from these meetings, a draft policy document emerged, which covered the topics of independence, governance, economic development, taxation, justice, education, health care, culture, and sports. Over the course of two months, the draft document was presented to party branches throughout Kosovo as well as to the party's "college of experts," an academic advisory group. The group also organized a series of branch meetings to solicit members' feedback and to prepare a final document to be ratified at the party convention.

In November, O'Reilly returned to facilitate discussions among the party's policy development group to resolve ideological discrepancies. The group completed the final document, which was adopted at the party's central-level working convention on November 15. This process represents the most democratic decision-making process within a political party in Kosovo to date.

In December, O'Reilly returned to Kosovo to work with the AAK presidency and senior staff to discuss implementing the new document. Party leaders agreed to the following:

- To appoint staff coordinators in the headquarters and branches to assist in developing the party's organizational structure;
- To develop a political position for the party that will translate to the Liberal International party group;
- To create an effective communications strategy; and
- To develop predictable and stable sources of revenue.

O'Reilly returned to Kosovo in January to assist with the preparations for the party's convention process, scheduled to begin in March and end with a central convention on June 5, 2004. O'Reilly has been able to secure unprecedented gains in the party's internal democracy by creating a local nominating procedure for the candidates' list. The process is to be introduced to the presidency and if approved, to be developed into regulation compliant with the party statute.

Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK)

The PDK requested a Labour-affiliated consultant because the party is negotiating for membership in the Socialist International. As a result, NDI worked in coordination with the Westminster Foundation for Democracy to locate and fund a consultant. In September, NDI consultant Richard Watts (United Kingdom – Labour) conducted initial consultations with party leaders and reviewed party statutes. Watts found that the PDK had active and engaged local party members, but activities were hindered by the absence of clear priorities at the central level and of a strategy to communicate policy initiatives to local branches. Following the assessment, Watts assisted the PDK in the following areas as part of its short-, medium-, and long-term policy development:

- Crafting a clear identity through the development of a “core values” statement to form the foundation of a new party policy;
- Creating a policy team to oversee the policy development process;
- Developing an internal communications strategy that will enable the party to introduce the policy to its branches and members and include members in decision-making processes;
- Developing its local branches in Pristina and Gjilan; and
- Assisting in the development of a party youth branch.

In November, party leaders appointed a group that would create a new management structure. NDI continued to assist this group as it addressed aspects of identity building, policy development, internal communication, and party headquarters restructuring. Watts returned in January to finalize preparations for implementing a new staff structure that will allow for better internal communication and therefore allow the party to develop a more cohesive platform. As part of this process, he trained new staff members on their roles and responsibilities.

Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK)

In the fourth quarter, NDI deployed consultant Chad Rogers (Canada – Progressive Conservative) to work with the LDK. During his first week, Rogers met with party leaders and members and performed an initial analysis of the party’s strengths and weaknesses. Rogers determined that rather than focusing on policy and structural development, the party should concentrate on restructuring its objectives for winning the 2004 parliamentary elections. To this end, Rogers’ assistance focused on the following aspects:

- Strengthening the party’s internal structures to involve more members in decision-making processes;
- Drafting a party mission statement with feedback from party members;
- Hiring a professional staff to coordinate and communicate policy decisions; and
- Launching a new policy development process.

In addition, based on the initial evaluation of policy documents and discussions with members about the party’s ideology, Rogers proposed that LDK apply to the International Democrat

Union. Rogers provided application materials and a draft application letter to the party for review, and the application was submitted in December.

On November 7 at the request of the party, Rogers also trained 24 recently hired LDK headquarters staff on tactics for voter identification, vote goal calculation, and internal communication.

Unfortunately, since Roger's departure, little progress has been made in implanting his recommendations. NDI has committed to frequently following up on LDK progress to ensure that the party has every opportunity for LDK to continue with a policy consultant in 2004.

Minority Party Consultations

As part of the strategy to reach out to Serbian and other minority parties in Kosovo, NDI/Kosovo hired Zoran Blagojevic, a Bosnian Serb from the NDI/Bosnia office to work directly with these parties. Blagojevic has more than eight years of political party experience, including platform and statute development, shaping party structures to be better able to identify and respond to the needs of citizens, and grassroots election campaigning. He began his contract in Kosovo in July.

Turkish Democratic Party of Kosovo (KDTP)

After meeting with KDTP party leaders, NDI determined that the internal communication structure of the party needs to be better developed before the policy development process would be able to proceed. In addition, the party was centered on Turkish issues and showed little interest in matters that did not negatively affect the Turkish population. NDI set out to work with the party to develop a more comprehensive platform. Unfortunately, in the fourth quarter, the KDTP opted out of the program, citing other pressing engagements, but expressed the desire to reengage with NDI in 2004.

Bosnian Party of Democratic Action of Kosovo (BSDAK)

Through consultations with the core leaders of BSDAK, as well as some of the younger members of the party, NDI determined the party had little internal structure and as a result would need to create the basics of internal communication before the party would be able to develop a comprehensive policy statement. Unfortunately, NDI was unable to pursue policy work with this party any further, as the party president continued to postpone meetings throughout the fourth quarter. NDI did secure a commitment from the party to resume the consultations in 2004.

Liberals of Serbia and Kosovo-Metohija (LSKM)

The Liberals of Serbia and Kosovo-Metohija (LSKM) is a member of the Central Assembly Serbian Coalition Povratak (KP). NDI began working with the LSKM representative outside the coalition structure in the second quarter. After establishing this relationship, NDI found that of all the Serbian parties in Kosovo, LSKM is the one most focused on issues that affect day-to-day life in Kosovo. Throughout July and August, NDI made recommendations to the party on its statute and advised party leaders as they prepared for the party convention. NDI

also attended two meetings of the party presidency and visited LSKM branches in Shterpce, Gjilan, and Leposavic to assess whether the party leaders made decisions based on input received from party branches. The party passed a new statute at the September 20 convention. NDI will continue to work with LSKM on decentralizing its decision-making process, as well as focusing on developing the youth-wing of the party, which currently only exists on paper.

On October 16, NDI trained members of the LSKM according to the needs of the party in preparation for the 2004 election cycle. Specific topics included creating an effective internal communication structure, developing a unified platform, and instituting a regular reporting schedule between branches and headquarters.

Throughout the remainder of the fourth quarter, the LSKM became preoccupied with the December elections held in Serbia. As a result of a poor showing in these elections, NDI has recommended that the party register as an independent party in Kosovo.

Democratic Party of Serbia/Democratic Party (DS/DSS) Coalition

NDI also met with representatives from the DS/DSS coalition. Although branches have a local executive structure, there is little party structure to support communication among the branches. Assistance to this coalition focused on basic skills building for intra-party communication and working with the DS youth organization. Unfortunately, like the LSKM, the parties' focus in the fourth quarter was on the Serbian elections.

Legislative Process Strengthening

In 2003, NDI built upon its previous legislative strengthening program, continuing to provide assistance to Central Assembly members and committees on improving the Assembly's ability to act on legislation and promote governmental accountability and transparency. NDI coordinated its assistance to the PISG with other international organizations through the Assembly Support Initiative (ASI) and the Municipal Assembly Support Initiative (MASI).

Access to Official Documents Act (FOIA)³

Throughout the year, the Institute continued to work with members of the Central Assembly and representative from ASI and UNMIK on the passage of the FOIA, drafted with direct technical assistance from NDI. In early February, a draft was delivered to the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), who had just been provided with consultants to ensure that all laws subscribe to European Union standards. At the end of March, the final, EU-compliant draft was sent to the cabinet for consideration.

On May 22, FOIA was tabled and the first reading was held in the Central Assembly. In response to questions raised about the law, NDI worked with the Committee on Public Services (CPS) to hold only the second public hearing in the Assembly. On June 6, 10 witnesses,

³ In early 2003, changes were made to the Freedom of Information Act, including its official title, which is now "The Law on Access to Official Documents." For reporting purposes and to coincide with the language in its program proposal, NDI refers to the law as FOIA.

including representatives of Kosovar and international NGOs, the PISG, and UNMIK, testified. The Institute worked with the CPS to amend FOIA for the second reading based on suggestions made during the first reading before the Assembly, as well as testimony from the public hearing.

FOIA was approved after its second reading before the Assembly on June 26. On July 3, Coalition Povratak (KP), a Serb coalition in the Central Assembly, submitted a challenge to the draft law, citing the potential of the law to marginalize minority groups. On September 9, the Institute met with Liliana Kenic (KP), who drafted the challenge, and Nenad Trifunovic, a lawyer consulting with the KP, concluded that some of the Coalition's arguments were valid, and proposed potential amendments to address their concerns. In late September, the Assembly presidency appointed a three-member panel to review the KP challenge. Of the panel's three suggestions, the Central Assembly approved one, which changed "habitual resident" to "any person who meets eligibility requirements for registration as a habitual resident." The SRSG promulgated the amended law on November 6, 2003. NDI will hold a training seminar on FOIA implementation in February 2004.

Rules of Procedure

Throughout the year, NDI worked with the ASI and the United States Office in Pristina (USOP) to resolve a conflict between Kosovo's elected officials and UNMIK on the Central Assembly's Rules of Procedure. Although the rules entered into force on the day of approval by the Assembly in January 2003, on February 7 UNMIK identified the seven areas of concern between the revised rules and the Constitutional Framework. Over the course of the year, NDI held consultations with the presidency of the Assembly, UNMIK representatives, the Rules of Procedure working group, and the Committee for Legal, Judicial and Constitutional Framework to resolve these issues. On October 9, the amended rules were passed, although not all of UNMIK's objections were addressed. NDI determined that the following may still pose issues:

- Immunity for Assembly members;
- Presidential succession by the Assembly president in the cases of death, resignation or dismissal; and
- Referencing issues of security without clearly stating that security is a reserved power.

Following a request from the Central Assembly's Legal Department, NDI translated the amendments in November for submission to UNMIK. In addition, NDI drafted a letter to the SRSG requesting that this matter be concluded as swiftly as possible. However, UNMIK remained unwilling to resolve this issue without the Assembly's approval of all proposed changes, which the Assembly is unlikely to do. NDI will continue to work with all involved parties for a resolution and will conduct training on implementation of the rules upon final agreement.

Constituent Relations

In 2002, NDI, in cooperation with ASI, held a constituent relations conference for 64 members of the Central Assembly. As a follow-up to this conference, in February and March, NDI trained elected officials from the Central and Municipal Assemblies, as well as local party

leaders, on constituent relations. These sessions were concluded in the second quarter. During the period of four weeks, NDI conducted 14 days of training for a total of 247 participants. Participants were from the LDK (106 participants), PDK (81), AAK (37), other Albanian parties (4), and non-Serbian minority parties (19).

Participants were grouped according to the regions they represented in order to develop a demographic profile of their constituency and a list of major issues facing the region. Unfortunately, the majority of the participants could not provide accurate information on their own municipalities. The group was then tasked with designing a constituent relations plan, inclusive of goals, timelines, budgets, and delegated responsibilities. All participants demonstrated an aptitude for suggesting ideas but a weakness in planning. One recurring theme among participants was that although the workplan is great in theory, the reality is that elected officials lack time, staff, and money to implement it.

In October, NDI held follow-up constituent relations training sessions in Mitrovica, Peja, Prizren and Gjilan. Each module consisted of two days of training, and NDI's partners from the political party and citizen participation components also participated. The first day was designed for Municipal Assembly members and reviewed three main functions of local legislatures: citizen representation, lawmaking, and oversight. NDI focused on how these responsibilities can be carried out within committees and through the budgeting process. On the second day, Municipal Assembly members, local CSO representatives and political party activists participated, and the topics included strategic planning, public opinion polling, and prioritizing citizen concerns. As part of this training, the participants conducted small public opinion polls in the community. At the end of the session, Municipal Assembly members worked with the CSO and party representatives to build outreach plans for their municipality. By the end of the two days, NDI had trained approximately 200 people from five municipalities. The following table outlines the number of attendees at each constituent relations training:

People were very happy to answer questions. I think by asking them what their concerns are, we showed that we care about them.
Member of the Obiliq Municipal Assembly

Region	LDK		PDK		AAK		Other Parties		CSOs
	<i>Day I</i>	<i>Day II</i>	<i>Day I</i>	<i>Day II</i>	<i>Day I</i>	<i>Day II</i>	<i>Day I</i>	<i>Day II</i>	
Mitrovica	9	7	12	8	3	3	/	/	4
Peja	8	2	/	/	1	1	/	/	14
Gjilan	9	11	9	10	2	3	/	/	10
Prizren	19	15	3	2	4	2	2	1	6
Pristina	11	9	5	4	3	1	3	/	8

Committee Work

During the second and fourth quarters, NDI conducted an assessment of the work of 15 of the 19 Central Assembly committees. The assessment was based on meetings with committee

chairs, as well as observations of committee work and discussions with other international organizations working with the Central Assembly. NDI interviewed committee chairs and/or vice-chairs and found that the lack of meeting space and inadequate staffing pose the biggest obstacles toward effective committee functioning. NDI found the following key problems that still require assistance:

- Committees do not utilize their right of legislative initiative;
- Committees generally engage civil society “experts” rather than the general public;
- Extra effort must be made to ensure that Serb and female parliamentarians are active in their committees.

Although these issues are problematic, NDI noted steady improvement in committees opening their meetings to the public and conducting public hearings.

Committee Staff Training

On November 12, NDI, in cooperation with Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, trained nine staff members from 12 assembly committees on conducting and preparing for public hearings. Topics included the preparation of agendas, development of witness lists, and creation and distribution of invitations. A public hearing manual based on this training will be compiled and distributed to Central and Municipal Assembly committees in 2004.

I always keep NDI manuals on my desk. If I have a question on the parliamentary issues I know there will be an answer.

*Naim Jerliu,
Member of the Central Assembly*

Gender Equality and Anti-discrimination Laws

During the third quarter, the Gender Equality Committee approached NDI for assistance on organizing public hearings on the draft Law on Gender Equality, the first law to be drafted by a Central Assembly committee. After the law’s first reading in October, committee members began preparations for a public hearing. NDI also received a request from the Committee on Constitutional, Judicial, and Legislative Matters to assist in organizing public hearings on the draft Anti-Discrimination Law, which was also tabled in the Central Assembly in October. NDI proposed that the committee members conduct a hearing on the Anti-Discrimination Law and the Gender Equality Law at the same time. On December 9, nine witnesses testified at the hearing, including representatives from the office of the prime minister, the Ministry of Public Services, UNMIK, and several CSOs. Of particular note was the testimony of the Council for the Protection of Human Rights, a Serb CSO based in Obiliq, which actively takes part in NDI’s citizen participation program. After the hearing, NDI assisted the committees as they drafted reports that reflected the testimony heard and included recommendations for future action within the committee and the Assembly. The Gender Equality Law passed its second reading and was sent to the SRSG for promulgation in January 2004.

Health Committee

On November 24, NDI assisted the Health Committee in organizing a public hearing on the recently tabled Healthcare Law. The Institute provided feedback on the list of invitees, the

production of invitations, and the development of potential questions to the committee members. A total of 16 witnesses testified during the hearing, including representatives from the Ministry of Health, municipal health departments, local hospitals, and CSOs representing the interests of healthcare workers. Following the hearing, NDI assisted committee members as they drafted a report on the hearing, which included the evidence presented by CSOs and recommendations for future action.

Assistance to the Office of the Prime Minister

During the first quarter, NDI met with USAID Chief of Mission Dale Pfeiffer and Prime Minister Rexhepi to discuss the reorganization of the Office of the Prime Minister, as well as general political concerns. In April, NDI conducted an assessment of the public information office (PIO) of the OPM and made a series of recommendations, including the need to develop a communications strategy, delegate responsibilities among staff members, establish a system for archiving electronic media, and create a budget. In May, NDI brought in Senior Advisor and former Resident Director of Kosovo Ross Reid to discuss options with the OPM for implementation of the recommendations, specifically the development and implementation of a communications strategy.

From October 9 through 17, the Institute deployed consultant Brenda Lee Pearson to follow up on the second quarter assessment by developing an external communication strategy for the OPM. Based on recommendations from the earlier assessment, the OPM had hired a public spokesperson. Although other newly appointed staff members were in place, Pearson determined that they did not have job descriptions or a full understanding of their roles in the office. As a result, in coordination with the spokesperson, Pearson drafted job descriptions for the public spokesperson and the technical media advisor.

With assistance from Pearson, the PIO assembled a team to develop a communications strategy. The team consisted of two political advisors, the newly appointed public spokesperson, and a European media expert. The team's first project was to draft a series of messages regarding a recent controversial decision of the prime minister. Pearson also worked with the team to develop a long-term communications strategy, which featured several elements, including the development of targeted messages, the creation of a weekly agenda for the prime minister to maximize his public exposure, the use of public opinion polling to measure public support, and the hiring and training of new staff members. At the end of 2003, the prime minister hired a full-time consultant to help design a press room to assist in implementing this strategy.

Citizen Political Participation

In 2003, NDI built upon its previous civic programs and continued to provide assistance to CSOs, discussion groups, and youth groups on political process monitoring and on developing issue-based advocacy campaigns in order to involve more citizens in the decision-making process. At the beginning of 2003, NDI chose 12 municipalities in which to work; these

municipalities were divided into six regions.⁴ After selecting the municipalities, NDI identified local CSO partners to participate in the program, and by the end of the year, the Institute had worked with approximately 70 groups throughout Kosovo. As the groups that worked with NDI this year possessed varying levels of monitoring and advocacy skills, partners from 2001 and 2002 (experienced groups) were encouraged to share their knowledge with the new partners.

“Building Grassroots Democracy” Conference

On March 30 in Pristina, NDI brought together 128 representatives from 65 of NDI’s civic partners to emphasize the importance of reaching out and including citizens in decisions that impact their lives. During the course of the day, participants identified the following steps they must focus on in 2003 to help build a democratic and tolerant society:

- Facilitate opportunities to inform the public about the work of the government through media, live coverage, awareness campaigns, and public debates;
- Set official procedures for including citizens in decision-making processes;
- Create liaison offices within government structures to reach out to citizens and CSOs;
- Establish permanent coordination with the Kosovo Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sport when defining public policies for youth; and
- Reform the electoral law to provide more accountability to citizens.

Participants submitted these benchmarks to decision-making authorities in Kosovo, including the Kosovo central and local governments, UNMIK, and the OSCE.

In order to achieve these goals, NDI trained its partners on advocacy tactics, such as government monitoring, message development, coalition building, and meeting with decisionmakers (see Appendix Two for complete training schedule). In addition, NDI consulted with CSOs individually to provide targeted assistance on the implementation of their advocacy campaigns. Finally, NDI facilitated regional coordinating sessions for partner CSOs where they had the opportunity to network with other like-minded organizations as well as share best practices and lessons learned (see Appendix Three). The CSOs accomplished most of their goals and their advocacy campaigns established a foundation for more democratic, inclusive structures that are more capable of responding to citizens’ concerns.

Political Process Monitoring

A core component of NDI’s work in 2003 focused on assisting CSOs as they monitored the work of their local governments to ensure adherence to UN Regulation 2000/45, which outlines the functioning of the Municipal Assembly. The groups monitored the plenary sessions as well as the work of the committees and the executive branch. The results of this monitoring, inclusive of suggestions for how the municipal assemblies could function more effectively, are compiled into reports, and the research is used in the groups’ advocacy campaigns. Twelve

⁴ The six regions (and associated municipalities) are Ferizaj (Ferizaj and Shtimje), Pristina (Pristina, Lipjan, Obiliq, Mitrovitca), Peja (Peja, Decan, Klina), Gjilan, Prizren, and Leposavic. The last three regions are made up of only one municipality.

CSOs (or networks) publicized at least one report during the year; as a whole, the groups produced 29 reports throughout the year. See Appendix Four for a list of reports and a sample of their content. Reports are publicized through press conferences and distributed to local governments, the OSCE, UNMIK, NDI, and other donors. The reports receive extensive local and Kosovo-wide coverage, both in electronic and print media. As a result of these reports and the public discussion that arose, 10 of the 11 municipal assemblies are meeting regularly and publishing their agendas in advance of the plenary sessions – this was not the case at the beginning of 2003.⁵

One of the most impressive examples of the impact targeted monitoring and advocacy efforts can have on the political process occurred in Lipjan. During the second quarter, *Flaka*, a women's CSO, publicized the fact that the Municipal Assembly, which had been elected in October 2002, had not established three core municipal committees or set up an executive branch. *Flaka* also held a public debate on the subject, and more than 100 citizens attended, as

"*Flaka* has played a vital role in helping Lipjan Assembly to establish itself and perform its role."

Xhevat Olluri,
President of the Lipjan Assembly

well as
representatives
from the

Assembly, the OSCE, KFOR and UNMIK. As a result of the public attention, the political parties ended an eight-month gridlock and in the July plenary session announced the formation of the three committees, as well as vacancies for the directors of the municipal departments to set up its executive. In addition, the chief executive of the Assembly invited *Flaka* to participate as the civil society representative on the municipality's economic and planning board. At NDI's urging, *Flaka* organized a roundtable with the other CSOs in Lipjan to develop a consensus as to which CSO should represent them on the board. On October 15, five CSOs attended the roundtable and unanimously decided that *Flaka* should be the representative.

Prizren - 2003 Monitoring Report

NGOs are satisfied with their monitoring efforts and highlighted the following results:

- The Assembly now publicizes the place and time of the plenary sessions in the most frequented places in town - seven days in advance, in three languages.
- Only 35.77% of assembly members participated in the plenary discussions and usually it is the same members.
- NGOs expressed their concerns that some committees are too passive. While the Committee for Communities had five meetings last year, the Committee for Intermediation had two meetings, the Committee for Policy and Finances did not hold a meeting for more than five months and the Committee for Return and Reintegration did not hold any.
- The NGOs expressed their concern that such a small number of citizens exercise their right to take part in plenary sessions.

Koha Ditore, January 29, 2004

Council for Defense on Human Rights and Freedoms (CDHRF)

The Council for Defense on Human Rights and Freedoms (CDHRF) has been NDI's main election monitoring partner since 1999, and for the last two years the Institute worked with the group on building its role as a monitoring and advocacy organization. In 2003, CDHRF monitored the work of 11 municipal governments on finances, social welfare, minorities and public services. CDHRF also monitored the work of the Central Assembly on gender equality, finances and economy, missing persons and public services. CDHRF compiled a comprehensive political process monitoring report on 11 municipalities and the Central Assembly for the

⁵ The Prizren Municipal Assembly missed one session this year.

February through July period. The report not only contained CDHRF's findings based on its monitoring but also a list of recommendations to improve the work of the assemblies. The report was printed in Albanian, Serbian, and English and released to the public on October 31 in a press conference that received print and electronic media attention. The ASI June newsletter contains an article on CDHRF's findings.⁶ A report covering the August through December period will be available in spring 2004.

In October, NDI hired a new staff member to work specifically with CDHRF on its political process monitoring and advocacy activities. NDI consulted with CDHRF on internal communication with branch offices. As a result, the CDHRF central office now receives regular reports from its field offices. NDI also worked with CDHRF on developing its elections and political process monitoring proposals for 2004, which were submitted to the Canadian Office, the British Office and the National Endowment for Democracy.

Debates on Public Services

As part of its monitoring and advocacy campaign, CDHRF held a series of public debates on municipal assembly public services. NDI worked with CDHRF to organize the pilot debates in Pristina (May 27), Peja and Klina. The debate received coverage by RTK, KTV, TV 21 and print media.

Municipal Initiatives Are Only Cosmetic Ones

Prishtina citizens have addressed many of their remarks to the officials from the Prishtina Municipal Assembly (MA) regarding the level of public services, in a public debate that took place Tuesday in the MA building, organized by MA officials and the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms.

Koha Ditore, May 28, 2003, p. 7

As a follow-up to the pilot debates and the release of the first monitoring report, CDHRF conducted a second series of debates on public service provision. Attendees included members of political parties, school youth groups, and civic groups. Citizens questioned senior municipal officials and staff on such topics as civil liberties, development of youth programs, civil services, and the 2004 municipal budget. The chart below outlines CDHRF branch offices that conducted debates as well as the number of citizens that attended.

Region	Date of Session	Number of Attendees
Peja	December 2	100
Obilic	December 4	120
Pristina	December 5	30
Gjilan	December 15	150
Prizren	December 17	70
Shtime	December 18	n/a
Lipjani	December 19	n/a
Mitrovica	December 26	n/a

⁶ The article is available at http://www.osce.org/kosovo/democratization/asi/july_2003/eng/ASI_eng_07.PDF, p. 20.

Issue-based Advocacy

In addition to training on such topics as utilizing the media, meeting with decision makers, and coalition building, NDI held individual consultations with its advocacy partners. Ongoing consultations remain an important activity, ensuring that NDI has much-needed *daily* access to civic groups to provide advice and assistance for their advocacy campaigns. NDI has been working with civic groups on such issues as helping people with disabilities, pensioners, and women to be better included in the political process. Throughout the year, CSOs produced monitoring reports; organized press conferences, townhall meetings, and public debates; and held meetings with decisionmakers to accomplish their goals. As a result, seven municipal assemblies have appointed official liaisons to work with civil society and/or appointed a civic representative to sit on a municipal committee. Two of the more than 40 comprehensive issue-based advocacy campaigns are described below.

Center for Protection of Human Rights (CPHR) – Oblic/Obliq

NDI assisted the Center for Protection of Human Rights (CPHR) as it sought to increase municipal services to Serbians in the area and facilitate the process of returns. Throughout the year, CPHR organized four public debates (February 26, September 26, October 17, and November 26) among Serbian inhabitants, Albanian and Serbian municipal officials, UNMIK, KFOR and the OSCE. Topics included freedom of movement, security for Serbian citizens of the municipality, infrastructure, education, and the participation of Serbian representatives in the municipal government. As a result of these debates, the Municipal Assembly took the following actions:

- Moved the local community office from a Serbian village to the center of Obliq so Serbian citizens from all the surrounding villages could more easily come to the municipal assembly building to address their needs;
- Established a working group on returning internally displaced persons to the municipality, which facilitated a visit of a delegation of 20 Serb IDPs to Obliq; and
- Promised that a Bosnian doctor would be available 24 hours a day for Serbian inhabitants, the construction of the emergency clinic for the Serb population would be completed, and a new water pump would be installed for Janjina Voda inhabitants.

In addition, the UNMIK representative promised to provide reports on the portion of the municipal budget allocated to the Serb community in 2003 for CSOs to use when proposing amendments to the 2004 budget.

Handikos – Pristina

Handikos led an initiative to advocate for the rights of handicapped people within the Pristina Municipal Assembly. By meeting with key decisionmakers and educating them on the issues faced by people with disabilities, *Handikos* received representation, including voting rights, in three assembly committees: health, education and urban planning. By the end of 2003, the group had identified its issue for the following year: to advocate for more frequent committee

meetings. *Handikos* noted that the committees cannot accomplish their objectives because they do not meet.

Youth Organizations

NDI youth partners participated in the same training on political process monitoring and advocacy as other partner CSOs. NDI consulted with approximately 30 youth groups to provide more targeted assistance as they advocated to raise awareness of the issues affecting youth in their communities and built relationships with the youth liaisons in their municipal representatives.

“We are aware that the core problem for this year for developing youth activities was budgetary, but we’ll try to solve this problem by next year,” promised the municipal coordinator of the youth department, Rudina Bukoshi [Prizren].

Epoka e Re, December 18

In many communities, youth groups held public debates to discuss the importance of including youth in the decision-making process and to begin dialogue with the municipal assemblies to encourage the local governments to reach out to youth; to introduce youth activities into the budget; to include youth groups in planning activities at the municipal level; and to appoint an official to work directly with the youth groups. Debates were held in Decan, Klina, Prizren, Peja, Ferizaj, Gjilan, Klina, and Leposavic. Municipal assemblies in the first four towns appointed an official government liaison for youth by the end of the year. In addition to these activities, some youth groups advocated for non-youth specific issues. Five advocacy campaigns run by youth groups are described below.

Protecting the Environment – Decan

The youth group succeeded in getting its draft regulation on protecting the environment onto the May Municipal Assembly agenda. After the mayor returned the draft to the group asking for a “leaner” version, the group consulted an expert for help on a new version that was resubmitted and adopted in the December plenary session.

Peja youth groups are advocating for a similar initiative and working with the Decan group to learn from its experience.

Student Dormitory Availability – Peja, Klina, Istog, Rahovec, Skenderaj, Malisheva and Gjakova

In a seven-month, region-wide campaign, a youth group in Peja advocated to its Municipal Assembly to return the Peja dorms to students. Although the families’ homes have been rebuilt, they continued to use the dorms, and students from the other towns in the region were forced to rent rooms. Families were contacted and told the importance that the dormitory has for students. The youth group continued to work with the Municipal Assembly, and during the summer, the Assembly announced that as of August 15 the families would have to leave. Of the 32 people that had been living in the dorms, 9 still remain. The youth group continues to work with the Central Assembly to find a solution to this situation that does not involve the police serving eviction notices.

Central Assembly Supported Youth Centers - Kosovar Youth Network

NDI partnered with the Kosovar Youth Network (KYN) in 12 municipalities. KYN is a network of youth centers in all 30 municipalities in Kosovo and is well organized with a board of directors and an assembly. Their youth centers are composed of youth CSOs, youth groups and individuals that cooperate on a wide range of projects. Throughout the year, NDI worked with KYN as it advocated to the Ministry of Youth, Sport, and Culture for inclusion in the process of designing the government's youth policies, including drafting a law for youth centers in Kosovo. The law will require municipal budgets to provide the youth centers with facilities and basic operating budgets. As part of the campaign, KYN collaborated with the ministry to organize public meetings in 30 municipalities to solicit input from youth on the proposed legislation's content. KYN also conducted a survey and found that more than 80 percent of youth organizations receive no financial support from the government. By the end of the year, KYN completed the draft law, and in 2004, it will work with the Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports to ensure it is placed on the Central Assembly agenda.

Youth Parliament – Youth Revival

At the end of the third quarter, a group of students from Pristina University, called Youth Revival, asked NDI to provide training on civic education, political process monitoring, and advocacy. The group expressed interest in monitoring the work of the Central Assembly, advocating for conflict of interest legislation, and forming a Kosovo-wide youth parliament. NDI assisted the students in establishing contacts with representatives from 12 Kosovo Youth Network (KYN) centers as the students looked to gain support for the parliament. On November 20, Youth Revival organized a meeting that included KYN representatives, as well as members of the LDK, PDK, and AAK youth branches to discuss the initiative and draft a mission statement for the parliament. In January, the parliament held its first two plenary sessions and elected a president, presidency, appointed committee and cabinet members, and approved its Rules of Procedures. The Youth Parliament continues to draw national media attention and its sessions are covered on national TV news editions. NDI will provide additional guidance to the group because if it acts impulsively or loses focus and motivation, the parliament could lose credibility.

Other Activities

Electoral Reform – Reform 2004 Coalition

During the first and second quarters, NDI assisted CDHRF, KIPRED (a Kosovar think-tank) and the Forum (a Kosovar nongovernmental organization) in developing a detailed plan to use CSOs to acquire citizens' input on the upcoming electoral law reform.⁷ On May 27, the Forum conducted a roundtable on electoral law reform. Representatives of LDK, PDK, AAK, the OSCE Election Working Group (EWG) and several CSOs took part in the roundtable in which the groups discussed different types of electoral systems. By the fourth quarter, 10 affiliated CSOs representing diverse ethnicities joined the campaign, and the coalition developed a list of recommendations on reforming the electoral code, forming seven districts and instituting

⁷ The project is funded by KNAP and the International Foundation for Elections Systems.

an open-list system.⁸ In November, the League of Kosovar Women and Reform 2004 organized conferences to formally present the recommendations. Approximately 70 representatives from CSOs, the EWG, UNMIK, and other relevant institutions attended. Both conferences received television (RTK, TV 21, KTV) and print media coverage, and by the end of 2003, more than 200 CSOs signed a petition in support of Reform 2004. With this support, the coalition began the second phase of its project, which focused on advocating to the OSCE and UNMIK on the electoral code.

Coalition members met with political party representatives, members of the Central Assembly, the OSCE, the U.S. Office in Pristina, diplomatic offices, and political party representatives to discuss the law and disseminated brochures outlining the potential changes to the law. During January, Reform 2004 organized live, prime-time, TV-debates with party representatives and the OSCE on all three Kosovo national TV stations (RTK, KTV and TV 21). By the end of the grant period, no decision on the electoral code had been made. Regardless of whether UNMIK takes the recommendations of the coalition into account, Reform 2004 will educate citizens on the new system prior to the fall 2004 Central Assembly elections. The Institute will continue to consult with the coalition in 2004.

Kosovo NGO Advocacy Program (KNAP)

As fellow USAID recipients, NDI and KNAP formed a coordination body to exchange information on civic partners and coordinate activities. The NDI/KNAP coordination group met on April 29, May 29, September 30, and biweekly in the fourth quarter to discuss KNAP's grants to NDI's partners, particularly the Serb groups in Obilic and Leposavic.

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Political Party Development

Objective: Political parties working with NDI demonstrate decentralized decision-making processes with increased leadership opportunities for municipal level, youth and women representatives.

Indicator: Engaged political parties increase participation of women and youth in party headquarters and branch leadership, as well as at public events and party meetings.

- Approximately 30 percent of the members of the newly formed AAK policy development group are women. Traditionally, working groups have been dominated by men.
- PDK elevated the position of the youth leadership by giving it responsibility for the TOT program and a youth wing reform effort.
- LDK youth are engaged in the youth convention processes led by former TOT participants.

⁸ The Coalition includes a Serbian CSO, a Bosnian CSO, as well as representatives from the League of Kosovo Women, which is composed of female leaders from civil society and political parties, and members of the Central Assembly.

- LDK in Gjilan is using the training material from the leadership, staff development, and membership education groups to strengthen an enthusiastic branch of the women's forum. The group requested quarterly training from the TOT participants.

Objective: Political parties working with NDI have internal democratic structures that demonstrate transparency and accountability to party membership and to the public.

- The LSKM adopted new party statutes inclusive of branch membership input at its September convention.
- AAK produced a branch survey to supply input into the secretary-general's annual report to the party.
- LDK youth engaged in branch-level electoral conventions, which will lead to the central-level youth convention.

Indicator: Engaged political parties produce and implement written planning documents including by-laws, annual plans, organizational budgets, and resource allocation mechanisms that reflect participatory mechanisms.

- The organizational secretary of the PDK submitted three proposals for restructuring the party, including organizational charts and job descriptions, to the presidency, and then the party's steering council for review. The plan received full endorsement from both entities.

Indicator: Engaged political parties create and maintain accurate membership lists and produce written document(s) delineating party leadership structure and responsibilities.

- AAK produced new documents delineating its party leadership and structure and outlining responsibilities for central level officers.
- AAK created job descriptions for all central-level party staff.
- LDK began the process of creating job descriptions for the party staff.
- *Vatan* completed its membership database and is the first of the three Bosniak parties in Kosovo to do so. The party will now be able to officially establish a membership roll.

Objective: Political parties working with NDI develop the capacity to determine and articulate public priorities, while providing evident choice to the public.

Indicator: Engaged political parties articulate distinct agendas that reflect constituent concerns as determined by party research and analysis.

- The AAK completed a draft platform addressing the economy, education, health care, security, the environment, social welfare, youth, culture, and a roadmap to independence. The program positions the party in the center left of the ideological spectrum. AAK party leaders traveled to local branches to present the party's new strategy document and receive feedback from party members in advance of the party convention. The recommendations that received majority support in the convention were forwarded to the party headquarters in writing. This represents the most democratic decision-making process within a Kosovar political party to date.

Objective: Participants in the NDI Training of Trainers (TOT) program provide the skills needed for parties to expand their constituent base, develop consistent political themes, and increase involvement of members and constituents in the political process.

Indicator: Membership lists that include relevant contact and personal details for individual members.

- The KDTP developed and is maintaining a membership database in Turkish.
- The LDK, PDK and AAK party headquarters and branches in Gjilan began compiling membership databases.

Legislative Process Strengthening

Objective: Legislators in the Central and Municipal Assemblies make decisions that reflect the needs and interests of citizens.

- After an advocacy campaign aimed at getting the Municipal Assembly to address the needs of people with limited abilities in its decision-making process, *Handikos* in Pristina received representation, including voting rights, in three Municipal Assembly committees: health, education and urban planning.
- On October 23, the Gjilan Municipal Assembly members reached a unanimous decision that each committee must organize public hearings with citizens and other stakeholders prior to putting any legislation to a vote in the assembly.

Indicator: Examples of decisions made by municipal and parliamentary-level officials made as a consequence of citizen input.

- The Municipal Assembly in Shtime removed discriminating language from a regulation as a result of an advocacy campaign by NDI civic partner, *Handikos*.
- At the suggestion of the monitoring CSOs in Prizren, the Municipal Assembly began announcing the agenda for the session in Albanian, Turkish and Bosnian.
- Municipal assemblies in Ferizaj and Gjilan developed and began implementation of a constituent relations plan to solicit citizen input on their initiatives.
- A member of the Municipal Assembly in Mitrovica received a complaint that the doctor scheduled to provide health care to the village was not holding a regular schedule. An elected official intervened at the health center in Mitrovica and was assured that the problem would be addressed. He followed up with another visit to the village to ensure that this was done.

Objective: Legislators in the Central Assembly gain the ability and information needed to consider and enact good governance legislation and regulations on parliamentary operations.

- FOIA was promulgated by UNMIK on November 7, 2003.
- The Public Services Committee held a public hearing on FOIA.

- In the Central Assembly, the Gender Equality Committee drafted a Law on Gender Equality that would eliminate discrimination based on gender. This is the first law drafted by a Central Assembly and it is currently awaiting promulgation by UNMIK.

Objective: Committee structures serve as a forum for multi-party, multi-ethnic cooperation and facilitate public participation leading to laws that are better drafted, understood, and accepted by key constituencies.

- The Anti-Discrimination Law was tabled in the Central Assembly by the Committee on Constitutional, Judicial and Legislative Matters. The law will eliminate discrimination based on ethnicity and gender and was the subject of a joint public hearing (with the Gender Equality Committee and its Gender Equality Law) in which representative from minority and women's CSO testified. Both committees are made up of members from diverse parties.
- Coalition Povratak (KP) submitted a formal challenge to the draft FOIA law. The challenge reflected the KP's concern that the legislation did not protect the rights of its constituents, and the action underlined the willingness of the KP to work within the legislative process members of the Assembly to amend the draft instead of boycotting the plenary sessions.

Citizen Political Participation

Objective: The Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms (CDHRF) and its affiliated network NGOs monitor, report on, and make available to the public reports intended to hold Central and Municipal Assemblies accountable while increasing transparency.

- NDI's partners publicized 29 monitoring reports in 2003 and January 2004. All the reports covered the work of the respective Municipal Assemblies (MAs), with the exception of the CDHRF reports, which covered 11 municipalities and the Central Assembly. CSOs held press conferences to release their reports and outline their findings and recommendations. The press conferences received electronic and print media coverage by such outlets as RTK, KTV, TV 21, *Koha Ditore*, *Kosova Sot* and *Bota Sot*.

Objective: Organized citizens engage elected and public officials at the Municipal and Central Assembly levels to advocate for policy change.

Indicator: Organized citizens demonstrate public policy engagement by advocating for change on specific issue(s) of community concern.

- Decan civic groups advocated to the MA for the construction of a beltway for Gjilan and for introducing city bus lines.
- Center for Civil Society (CCS) in Prizren signed an MOU with other CSOs in the municipality to conduct a survey of 140 citizens as part of its campaign to advocate to the municipal assembly for a regulation on city public transportation in Prizren. CCS distributed literature, organized a televised debate, and drafted a regulation on public transportation. The Center publicized the draft on the local television stations to educate the public on its contents.

- A citizen group in Arbanas lobbied Prizren MA officials, including those from the department of education, to allocate a budget for its pre-school teachers.
- On February 3, a citizens group of handicapped people in Obiliq organized a public debate among the Obiliq mayor, chief of the executive branch, and the international administrator on the topic of the institutional protection of the rights of people with limited physical abilities.
- Gjilan civic groups organized a public debate between the elected officials and citizens on developing a public bus system in Gjilan and constructing a beltway for reducing traffic jams within the city.
- In Gjilan, an CSO representing people with limited physical abilities organized a public debate with government officials to discuss the type of assistance the local government can deliver to people with limited physical abilities. The officials agreed to present the list of issues at the next Gjilan executive board meeting.
- An organization representing citizens with limited physical abilities, with the help of the Pristina Municipal Assembly, held a sports competition for people with limited physical abilities. This group also drafted a project requesting that the assembly allocate a line item in the 2004 budget for the needs of people with physical disabilities.
- CSOs in Ferizaj, Gjilan and Klina worked with their respective municipal assemblies to organize town hall meetings on June 30, July 10 and July 15, respectively. These town hall meetings follow last month's government monitoring recommendations with respect to the 2000/45 regulation that obliges municipal assemblies to conduct at least two meetings with citizens per year.
- CDHRF held debates on public services for citizens and municipal senior officials in Peja, Obilic, Prishtina, Gjilan, and Prizren.
- On November 17, *Flaka* organized a public debate in Magura village aimed at promoting multiethnic dialogue, coexistence, and tolerance. Twenty-five people attended, and participants included returnees from the Ashkali community, ethnic Albanians, as well as representatives from the Municipal Assembly, the U.N. Human Rights Committee (UNHCR), and the OSCE.
- On November 13, *Handikos* in Ferizaj organized a public debate on education and health care for municipal officials and the families of people with limited physical abilities. The debate brought together more than 100 participants. Two recommendations from the debate to be addressed in the Municipal Assembly included expanding the number of classes for children with special needs and providing transportation to these classes.
- *Handikos* in Shtime advocated to the Center for Health and succeeded in relocating the dental clinic from the first floor to the ground floor to make the center accessible to people with limited physical abilities.
- CSOs in Ferizaj organized a public debate on September 25 with elected officials on the issue of including civil society in the decision-making process at the Ferizaj-government level. The debate received local media coverage.
- In Prizren, the NGO resource center and CDHRF concluded a series of workshops for civic leaders in Prizren on policies for ensuring civil society's input in the decision-making process. They presented a paper to the Municipal Assembly on their findings.

Indicator: Citizen advocacy for policy changes in the political process is evident as exhibited in public meetings, press conferences, published reports, or media coverage of such participation.

- NDI's partners in all 12 municipalities received press coverage on their public debates, townhall meetings, and monitoring reports. Both print and electronic media covered these events throughout the year, including Radio Tema, RTK, KTV, TV 21, Festina TV, Prizren TV, *Koha Ditore*, *Zeri*, *Epoka e Re*, *Bota Sot*, and *Kosova Sot*.

Indicator: The legislative agenda is modified to address policy changes advocated by citizens, as reported in political process monitoring reports issued by CDHRF and other civic groups.

- The chief executive of the Municipal Assembly in Lipjan invited NDI partner, *Flaka*, to participate as the civil society representative on the municipality's consultant board for economy and planning. *Flaka* organized a roundtable with other CSOs in Lipjan in order for the group to come to a consensus as to which organization should represent the group on the board. On October 15, five CSOs attended the roundtable and unanimously decided that *Flaka* should be the representative.
- A citizen group in Obilic, with funding from the Municipal Assembly, organized a social event for Albanian and Ashkali children with limited physical abilities.
- A citizen group in Mirash received 24,000 Euros from the Ferizaj municipal government and KFOR to reconstruct the local schoolyard and sports fields.
- *Let's Find Our Way*, a women's CSO in Leposavic, arranged for a seat on the newly established Committee for Gender Equality in the Municipal Assembly.
- Through the committee established earlier this year in the Obilic Municipal Assembly to assist citizens with physical disabilities, the citizen group in Obilic secured 1,500 Euros from the Department of Social Welfare to assist people with limited physical abilities.
- Following the pensioners' group initiative, Ferizaj municipal government allocated 10,000 Euros from the MA budget for the needs of the pensioners.
- *Handikos* in Gjilan secured a venue from the municipality for the construction of a rehabilitation center for people with limited abilities.
- A pensioners' group secured a 50 percent discount from the municipality for pensioners that visit the rehabilitation center near Gjilan.
- *Handikos* in Ferizaj convinced the municipal Department of Health to provide free home medical checks for people with limited physical abilities.
- After a one-year effort, in January 2004, the citizen-based group from Rahovica village convinced the Ferizaj Municipal Assembly to allocate €30,000 euros for establishing a dairy products plant that will employ 16 women.
- A pensioners' group worked with the MA to establish a 50 percent discount for pensioners that visit the rehabilitation center near Gjilan,
- "Elena Gjika," a women's CSO, organized a debate on June 20 with women and the municipal gender office on the integration of women in democratic developments. Following the government monitoring recommendations made by the CSO, the Municipal Assembly appointed a Committee for Gender Issues in its July session. This committee also includes a member of the CSO who has the right to discuss and vote.

- A pensioners' civic group in Ferizaj advocated for the allocation of 10,000 Euros from the Municipal Assembly budget for the needs of the pensioners.
- CSOs in Leposavic pressured the Municipal Assembly to announce its sessions according to regulation 2000/45.
- A citizen-based initiative in Obiliq resulted in the official formation of the Committee for People with Limited Physical Abilities, which will present the local government with the issues of people with limited physical abilities.
- The Fushe-Kosova MA allocated government-owned land for a kindergarten for Ashkali, Roma, Egyptian, Albanian and Serb children as the result of an initiative by the Ashkali civic group.
- NGOs in Gjilan received approval from the Municipal Assembly's board of directors to include access ramps as criteria for new public facilities.
- As a result of the efforts of an informal group of citizens in the Rahovica village, the Municipal Assembly provided for the construction of a house in the municipal budget. The house will go to a family of six that has been living in a tent.
- A network of CSOs in Gjilan convinced the Municipal Assembly to provide access ramps for people with limited abilities for all public buildings. The first access ramp was built at the municipal theatre.
- At the suggestion of *Handikos* in Ferizaj, the Committee for Policy and Finances earmarked € 6,000 from the municipal budget for initiatives related to the needs of people with limited abilities.
- In November, after a seven-month campaign, the informal citizen group in Arbanas secured the kindergarten teacher's salary as part of the municipal budget.
- In December, an Ashkali group in Fushe Kosove/Kosovo Polje secured funding from a donor to construct a multiethnic kindergarten, the first of its kind in Kosovo. This comes after the group's previous efforts of securing municipal land for the kindergarten.

Objective: An informed network of youth leaders is created that advocates to municipal and parliamentary government institutions for public policy change.

- Youth groups held public debates in Decan, Klina, Prizren, Peja, Ferizaj, Gjilan, Klina, and Leposavic to discuss the importance of including youth in the decision-making process. Municipal assemblies in the first four towns appointed an official government liaison for youth by the end of the year.
- As a result of an advocacy campaign by *21st Century Vision*, the Decan gender office established a municipal committee on gender issues. On November 14, 30 citizens attended a townhall meeting to identify gender issues in the community with the newly formed committee.
- The Prizren assembly adopted a regulation to reserve parking slots for people with limited physical abilities after the youth group, Live Your Life, pushed for it.
- The youth center in Ferizaj developed a survey to assess youth's interaction with elected officials, as well as to find out how much Ferizaj youth know about the Municipal Assembly and its plans for youth. Tapes and data were then presented to the Ferizaj municipal youth official to improve the interaction between youth and the assembly. In addition, Ferizaj youth groups convinced the assembly not to close down the youth

center. In addition, the youth center obtained the right to participate in meetings of the Ferizaj Department of Youth, Culture and Sport.

- The Decan Municipal Assembly passed a regulation on environmental protection that was sponsored and drafted by NDI's youth partners.
- On November 15 and 16, Prizren youth groups organized a two-day workshop for Municipal Assembly officials, political party youth representatives, and OSCE officials. They aimed to draft the Prizren Municipal Assembly's youth policies for 2004. As a result of this workshop, a policy paper was drafted by the municipal youth official and the Municipal Assembly approved it.

V. EVALUATION

After working in Kosovo for four years, NDI has seen the impact of its democratization assistance programs in the areas of political party development, legislative strengthening, and citizen participation. In the last year alone, parties began preparing ideological platforms, legislators began soliciting input from constituents, and civic actors organized the first Kosovo-wide advocacy campaign aimed at policy change. Kosovo's elected officials, political leaders, and citizens are working together to build multiethnic, stable, and transparent democratic institutions responsive to citizen input.

Political Party Development

In 2003, political parties began to transform from highly centralized bodies and to incorporate member input into their party platforms and decision-making processes. Parties are beginning to develop membership lists and communication structures to gather and disseminate party information. Although NDI thought the dissemination of free membership tracking software would be the best method to help facilitate this, the Institute overestimated the resources that parties have, both technological and human. As a result, database usage will not be widespread until the second quarter of 2004.

Although NDI is satisfied with the progress that most parties have made in forming democratic, inclusive decision-making processes in a non-election year, not all parties showed full commitment to the Institute's programs this year. Although the Institute had the capacity to conduct the training and to observe TOT branch training, NDI relied on parties' recommendations for selecting participants. Unfortunately, parties recommended some individuals on the basis of popularity instead of commitment to internal party reform, and as a result, NDI ended up with participants that were not always capable of taking on such an important role in their respective parties. Only one of five TOT participants met the Institute's standards for graduation at the end of the year.

By the beginning of the third quarter, the Institute assessed the situation and instituted a series of branch training sessions to supplement the short-comings of the TOT participants. NDI worked with political parties to determine the subjects for these sessions. The branch sessions proved to be very popular and will continue into 2004. The TOT selection process in 2004 will be open to a smaller number of participants and will include formal interviews. Potential participants will be evaluated on their previous participation in NDI's programs as well as

articulation of their vision for what they can do to assist in the formation of a democratic political party.

The policy development consultants proved to be an effective way to assist in the development of ideological platforms. Although Serbian parties became distracted by politics in Belgrade, minority parties had other priorities, and the LDK has done little to implement the recommendations of its policy consultant, NDI has already received reassurances that these parties will be more active in 2004. Conversely, the AAK and PDK have been successful in implementing the policy consultants' recommendations and have drafted platforms and reforming the party structures to begin to accommodate member input into the decision-making process.

The year 2003 was the first non-election year in Kosovo since 1999, and political parties had the opportunity to look inward to their structure and formation and to make preparations for the Central Assembly elections in fall 2004. Although parties remain strongly influenced by their leaders' vision, some parties began to make progress in key areas of internal reform, such as membership tracking, representing women and youth, long-term planning, and establishing an ideology.

Even though the Kosovo constitution states that no member of the executive can be the leader of a political party, the LDK continues to be highly centralized around the party leader and President of Kosovo, Ibrahim Rugova. Although this is not a sign of democratic development within the party, throughout 2003, the LDK began a process of more standardized membership tracking, both in party headquarters and several branches, and promoted youth to higher positions in the party. Little progress has been made in including these new members in the development of an ideological platform, but the LDK did apply for membership in the International Democratic Union, signaling its commitment to a center-right ideology.

The PDK also made a commitment to a center-left ideology, applied for membership in the Socialist International and created a core values statement that will form the basis of a more comprehensive ideological platform to be developed in 2004. In addition, the party began a process of tracking membership in both party headquarters and a few branches. The party will use the membership lists to disseminate a draft platform to members in advance of the conventions in June 2004. In addition, the party signaled a clear intention to develop a youth wing to incorporate more young people into its structures.

The AAK developed the most transparent and inclusive method for developing an ideological platform in Kosovo. The AAK created a draft platform, consistent with the ideology of Liberal International, organized a series of branch meetings to solicit members' feedback, and incorporated these comments into the final document, which was voted on in the November convention. With this process competed ahead of the other two parties, it has given the party the opportunity to create a local nominating procedure to develop the order of the candidates lists for the Central Assembly elections, something that is unusual even for more developed political parties.

The addition of a staff member to work directly with the minority parties proved beneficial to the program. Vatan and KTDP have developed membership databases to help facilitate internal communication and have begun adopting written, formal party structures. However, the Institute's relationship with Serbian parties continues to be frustrating because these parties are more interested in the politics of Belgrade than Pristina. With one exception, Serbian parties do not have an established communication structure to share information with other branches within Kosovo and information is funneled through Belgrade. Although NDI tried to work with all of these parties throughout the year, the best relationship was developed with the LSKM, which sought to work with NDI outside of the KP structures. Although the Institute had great hopes for the development of this party within the Kosovo political scene, by the end of the year, the party was headed for the same fate of the other Serbian parties in Kosovo. NDI will continue to try to engage these parties in 2004, either as separate parties, or through KP.

Legislative Process Strengthening

Legislators and committee members in the Central Assembly continued to seek out the advice of NDI staff on matters related to public hearings and negotiating with UNMIK on draft legislation, such as FOIA and the Rules of Procedure. Committee members responsible for this legislation showed greater understanding and more confidence in their abilities as legislators as the year progressed. As the security situation improved and UNMIK offered per diems for days that committees were in session, committees proved to be more effective forums for multiethnic cooperation. Even when the Serbian KP called for a boycott of the Central Assembly plenary sessions, Serbian assembly members continued to participate in committee meetings. By the end of the year, the boycotts has become less common, signaling that all Central Assembly members were beginning to see the benefits of using the rules of the legislative system to solve their problems.

In addition to holding public hearings, which became more frequent as the year progressed, members of both the central and municipal assemblies continued to show interest in learning about different methods to reach out to their constituents. Municipal legislators began spending more time listening to people in their districts and Central Assembly members strengthened relationships with CSOs. Although legislators could be more pro-active in their meetings with constituents, their openness to the requests of CSOs shows great promise for further development in this area.

Although the legislative program made great strides, it would have benefited from having a full-time expatriate representative devoted to it. At the beginning of the year, the Institute had developed a plan by which three consultants would cover the program throughout the year; each had a different expertise tailored to the three program objectives. Unfortunately, external commitments and health problems interfered with implementing this plan as smoothly as originally envisioned. Although the program did not suffer for the lack of a full-time expatriate, NDI has hired a legislative program manager for 2004 to work with elected officials.

Citizen Political Participation

The citizen participation program continues to be the most successful of all three program components. CSOs working with NDI continue to be enthusiastic about advocacy training, monitoring the work of their municipal assemblies, and working to include citizens in the decision-making processes of their respective assemblies. Their respect for NDI and its training methods is reflected in the number of groups, especially youth groups, that approached the Institute throughout the year to join the program.

Throughout the year, NDI was impressed with the progress made by new and experienced CSOs. New organizations worked closely with the Institute to develop their advocacy and government monitoring skills, often requesting additional consultations and engaging in more activities than originally scheduled. NDI's regular coordination sessions allowed CSOs that participated in its previous programs to provide newer partners with advice and guidance. These sessions allowed more experienced organizations to take a leadership role within their local CSO communities, and provided opportunities for organizations to establish contacts and form networks. NDI will continue to work with CSOs in 2004 as they continue to build their skills and expand their activities.

Although CDHRF has continued to be an important civic partner this year, internal communication and other organizational issues threaten its effectiveness. In response, NDI hired a full-time program assistant to work directly with CDHRF to strengthen the communication structure of the organization. In 2004, NDI will continue to work with groups on government monitoring and issue-based advocacy and include such topics as organizational development and grassroots fundraising to assist in the sustainability of these groups in the long term.

VI. LIST OF ATTACHMENTS

- Summary of 2003 TOT Participants and Training Sessions
- Summary of 2003 Citizen Political Participation Training Sessions
- Regional Coordinating and Planning Sessions
- Political Process Monitoring – List of Reports and Samples
- AdvoNet Press Statement, September 20, 2003
- Committee for the Protection of Human Rights Press Statement, September 23, 2003

Appendix One: Summary of 2003 TOT Participants and Training Sessions

	Leadership		Staff and Membership		Total		Women		Youth	
	Sel.	Grad.	Sel.	Grad.	Sel.	Grad.	Sel.	Grad.	Sel.	Grad.
AAK	5	0	10	3	15	3	6	2	7	2
PDK	5	1	10	5	15	6	5	1	6	1
LDK	4	1	10	1	14	2	3	0	13	1
PREK	1	0	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	0
PLK	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	0
UDGJ	1	0	2	0	3	0	1	0	1	0
Vatan	1	1	2	0	3	1	0	0	1	0
PSHDK	1	1	2	0	3	1	0	0	0	0
IRDK	1	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
KDTP	1	0	2	0	3	0	1	0	1	0
PREBK	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
PD	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
PDASHK	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
BSDAK	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Total	25	4	45	10	70	14	18	4	31	4

“Sel.” refers to the number selected to participate; “Grad.” is the number of participants that graduated.
Minority parties are in bold.

Leadership Group

The “Leadership” group started with 25 rising party leaders who wanted to learn how to better develop management skills to use within their party in order to make the party operations more transparent and inclusive. Training topics included the following:

First Quarter, *Leadership Skills*, 20 participants, Trainers: NDI Kosovo Staff

- Creating vision and mission statements
- Building a team atmosphere
- Defining roles and responsibilities for party leaders
- Utilizing staff and activists
- Developing internal communications techniques

Second Quarter, *Strategic Planning*, 14 participants, Trainer: Consultant Michael O'Reilly

- Creating and tracking results as part of a strategic plan
- Formulating a clear and concise mission statement
- Identifying and drafting party objectives
- Assigning specific tasks to party leadership, staff and volunteers

Third Quarter, *Financial Management*, 13 participants, Trainer: NDI Kosovo Staff

- Generating a financial management plan and budget forecasting
- Building and sustaining a party donor base, including donor relations strategies
- Maintaining accurate financial records, inclusive of in-kind donations

Staff Development and Membership Education Groups

The “Staff Development” and “Membership Education” groups began with 23 and 22 participants, respectively, who were selected to train their fellow party members on supporting day-to-day branch office operations and membership development. Training topics included the following:

First Quarter, *Components of a Political Party*, 20 participants, “Staff Development” group, Trainer: NDI Kosovo Staff

- Defining the different functions of political parties – representation recruitment, policy development, communications, fundraising and campaigning
- Developing an organizational and communication plan
- Identifying tools parties must use and actions they take to be successful
- Prioritizing the list of tools and actions on the basis of a party’s strengths and weaknesses

First Quarter, *Communication Techniques*, 16 participants, “Membership Education” group, Trainer: NDI Kosovo Staff

- Engaging political party members in party decision-making activities
- Establishing and improving internal communications by using such tools as newsletters and e-mails

In the second quarter, the “Staff Development” and “Membership Education” groups were combined into one group due to attrition and similarity of training content. Parties and TOT participants welcomed the merging of groups because it allowed more flexibility in placing these participants in party positions.

Second Quarter, *Research*, 26 participants, Trainers: NDI/Macedonia political party manager, David Dougherty, pro-bono trainer, Clare Dowling, and NDI/Kosovo Country Director Heather Kashner

- Gathering information about the party, the opposition, the issues, and public opinion
- Identifying research tools, such as media archives, public records, party experts, internet, other organizations’ policy documents, polling, and focus groups
- Utilizing research tools effectively
- Conducting public opinion research

Third Quarter, *Donor Relations and Grassroots Organizing*, 36 participants, Trainer: NDI Kosovo Staff

- Recruiting new members and involving existing members
- Managing and allocating human and financial resources
- Communicating with party members and leaders
- Keeping transparent financial records
- Maintaining a membership and donor database

It is important to note that part of this training was conducted by a Bosnian, in Serbian, and then translated into Albanian for the participants. This is the first time that NDI trained a multiethnic group in Serbian, and the participants were open to the experience.

During the fourth quarter, the Institute held its last TOT session for all of the program participants. NDI consultant Chad Rogers led the session, in which 27 participants were trained on motivational and persuasive communication skills to engage party members and volunteers.

Appendix Two: Summary of 2003 Citizen Political Participation Training Sessions

New Groups

Political Process Monitoring

The sessions were designed to train new partners on the concepts and techniques for monitoring political processes for the purpose of holding their elected officials accountable and making their work transparent. Participants were introduced to the concepts of political process monitoring, including objectives, monitoring activities and reporting format. These events were used also for exploring regional coalition building opportunities. Experienced CSOs shared their experiences and expertise with the new groups in these sessions.

Region	Date of Session	Number of Attendees
Pristina, Gjilan	February 13	15
Peja	February 12	20
Prizren	February 15	20
Ferizaj	February 14	34

On March 29, NDI held a similar training for the new Serb NGOs in Leposaviq. Also in March, NDI trained representatives from the Center for Human Rights (CHR), a CSO that operates within the Faculty of Law at the University of Pristina. CHR will monitor the work of Kosovo's Central Assembly.

Experienced Groups

Public Policy and the Law

The purpose of this training was to provide information on advocating for public policy and legislative change. After discussing the ideas of public policy and law, NDI worked with the groups to identify issues that are of common concern in their regions, stressing the importance of prioritizing issues, identifying viable solutions, and strategizing on ways to seek a solution through engaging elected and public officials. Following these sessions, NDI met with the groups individually to assist in mapping out initial strategies for advocating on their selected issues, which included more rights for Kosovars with limited physical abilities, increased minority participation in municipal assemblies, and more effective communication between youth and local officials.

Region	Date of Session	Number of Attendees
Gjilan	March 17	20
Pristina	March 20	25
Peja	March 11	40
Prizren	March 16	25
Ferizaj	March 15	37

All Groups

Message Development and Coalition Building

These sessions introduced participants to the principles of developing messages for their issue-based advocacy campaigns; and groups also were educated on the positives and negatives of building coalitions, as well as what steps should be undertaken when forming these partnerships. The dates of the sessions and number of participants are outlined in the chart below:

Region	Date of Session	Number of Attendees
Gjilan	May 8	11
Pristina	May 13	12
Peja	May 13	15
Prizren	May 23	14
Leposavic	June 25	7

Utilizing Media in an Advocacy Campaign

The purpose of this training was to provide participants with the knowledge and skills necessary to use media as a tool to advocate for a public policy change. The first half of the session introduced participants to various forms of media and techniques to attract media representatives. Participants used the second half to compile and then review their press statements and to hold a mock press conference. The dates of the sessions and number of participants are outlined in the chart below:

Region	Date of Session	Number of Attendees
Gjilan	June 17	8
Ferizaj	June 16	12
Peja	June 10	14
Prizren	June 24	13
Pristina	July 2	13
Leposavic	July 15	6

Meeting with Decisionmakers

This session was designed to educate participants on identifying decisionmakers in their municipal governments and taking the necessary steps to plan and schedule meetings with them. Trainers led participants through tips for activities prior to, during, and after such meetings. The sessions were an opportunity for activists from different regions not only to learn new skills, but also to engage in an exchange of experiences. The dates of the sessions and number of participants is outlined in the chart below:

Region	Date of Session	Number of Attendees
Ferizaj/Gjilan/Pristina	July 24	17

Prizren	September 19	19
Peja	September 19	19

Proposal Development

This training equipped participants with the necessary concrete skills to write their own proposals in the upcoming years. NDI trained partner CSOs on specific techniques for writing a more competitive proposal with a focus on developing concrete objectives, designing a monitoring plan to evaluate performance, and drafting a detailed and realistic budget. A summary of the sessions is outlined in the chart below:

Region	Date of Session	Number of Attendees
Prizren/Peja	October 29	22
Leposavic/Ferizaj/Gjilan/Pristina	October 31	20

The October 31 training was an important session as it brought together 14 Albanian and 6 Serb participants who were trained together for the first time.

NDI also consulted with CSOs in Leposavic in early November as they prepared proposals for the European Agency for Reconstruction. In addition, NDI assisted them as they investigated the process for applying for funding from the Leposavic Municipal Assembly.

Youth Organizations

Civic Education

Twenty of the 32 youth groups are new to NDI's program and participated in a civic education phase that lasted from February through June. NDI's coordinators held biweekly meetings on the following 12 principles of democracy and advocacy: discussion rules; individual rights and elements of democracy; governing structure in Kosovo; free and fair elections; political parties in a democracy; why a government is needed; human rights; the constitution; creating a constitutional preamble; citizens in a democracy; advocacy; and public policy.

Youth Revival

In September, a group of students from Pristina University requested NDI's assistance in learning advocacy skills in order to advocate for financial disclosure/conflict of interest legislation in the Central Assembly and to establish a youth parliament. NDI provided training sessions as follows:

Topic	Date of Session	Number of Attendees
Civic Education	September 24	20
Basic Advocacy Skills	September 25	20
Meeting with Decisionmakers	September 29	20
Coalition Building and Utilizing the Media	October 13	15

Passing a Bill in the Central Assembly	October 20	15
Government Monitoring	October 21	15

CDHRF

CDHRF requested that the groups and its branches receive training sessions separate from the other civic partners. As this was an effective manner to keep the groups to a smaller size, NDI granted this request. NDI conducted training sessions as follows:

Topic	Date of Session	Number of Attendees
2002 Self Evaluation	Jan 29	35
Government Monitoring	Jan 30	35
Internal Communication and Reporting	April 24	14
Internal Communication and Reporting II	October 24	13

Appendix Three: Regional Coordinating and Planning Sessions

NDI facilitated regional coordinating and planning sessions for its civic partners. These sessions aimed to provide opportunities for coalition building, planning issue-based advocacy campaigns, discussing successes and challenges, and coordinating monitoring and advocacy campaigns to avoid duplication. The sessions also served as a tool by which NDI was able to evaluate its program objectives and modify its strategy to deliver more focused assistance. The five Serb CSOs in Leposavic/Leposaviq already worked together as a coalition and as a result, NDI did not hold coordinating sessions for the region. The dates of the sessions and number of participants are outlined in the chart below:

Region	Date of Session	Number of Attendees
Gjilan/Gnjilane (8 CSO partners)	May 26	9
	June 20	8
	July 7	11
	September 25	9
	December 16	7
Prishtinë/Priština (17 CSO partners)	May 21	12
	July 2	16
	September 26	21
	December 17	14
Ferizaj/Uroševac (17 CSO partners)	May 28	13
	June 26	12
	September 26	13
	December 15	12
Pejë/Pec (18 CSO partners)	May 29	16
	June 26	15
	September 30	25
	December 22	n/a
Prizren (11 CSO partners)	May 28	13
	June 24	11
	July 1	9
	September 26	9
	December 18	9

Appendix Four: Political Process Monitoring – List of Reports and Samples

NDI's partners released and publicized 29 monitoring reports between January 2003 and January 2004. All of the reports covered the work of the respective municipal assembly, with the exception of CDHRF's reports, which covered 11 municipalities and the Central Assembly. CSOs held a total of 29 press conferences to release their reports and to outline their findings and recommendations. The press conferences received electronic and print media coverage by such outlets as RTK, KTV, TV 21, *Koha Ditore*, *Kosova Sot* and *Bota Sot*.

Municipality	CSO	Time period	Date Released
Shtime	Handikos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jan-Feb • Mar-Apr • May-Jun • Sep-Oct 	March 2003 May 2003 July 4 November 2003
Prizren	Network of 4 NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jan • Feb • Mar-Apr • May-Jun • Jul-Sep • Feb-Dec 2003 	February 7 March 21 May 2003 June 2003 October 3 Feb 18 2004
Peja	KCHR Kosovo Civic League	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apr • Nov 02-May 03 	May 7 June 28
Obilic	CPHR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mar-May • Jun-Aug • 2003 	June 27 September 23 December 17
Mitrovica	Network of 6 NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • May-Jul 	September 10
Lipjan	Flaka	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jan-Apr • May-Aug • Sep-Dec 	April 30 September 8 Jan 5 2004
Klina	Elena Gjika	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dec 02-Mar 03 • Apr-Jul 	April 2003 July 11
Gjilan	Network of 4NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apr-May • Jun-Sep 	June 20 Sep 30
Ferizaj	Network of 3 NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feb-May • Jun-Sep 	June 20 September 30
Decan	Youth Groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jun-Sep 	December 18
Pristina	CDHRF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2002 • Feb-July • Aug-Dec 	March 3 October 31 2004
Total		29 reports	



**Women NGO
Elena Peshkopia
Gjilan**

**Women NGO
Liria
Gjilan**

Press Statement

ADVONET

Monitoring of the Work of Municipal Assembly in Gjilan Tuesday, September 20th 2003, Gjilan

Women NGOs “Elena Peshkopia” and “Liria” and “Youth Center are three NGOs comprising network of monitoring and advocacy NGOs in Gjilan, called “AdvoNet”, which based on international practices and experience, and previously trained on government activities monitoring by National Democratic Institute (NDI) will be monitoring the work of the Municipal Assembly and the elected officials in Gjilan. The AdvoNet network began their monitoring work starting from April month and continued with their activities even nowadays.

One of the main reasons which motivated AdvoNet to start with the process of monitoring Municipal Assembly is the importance of building sustainable institutions of democratic society and to promote citizen participation in decision-making process, so they can actively contribute in drafting public policies, which means ensure accountability and transparency of elected officials in MA.

The right of the NGOs to monitor the work of the elected officials derives from the right of citizens to be informed about the work and activities of elected officials elected by them
[UNMIK regulation 2000/45]

The network “AdvoNet” as joint monitoring body will be publishing their reports in periodically basis, however this is their second report which aims to inform public opinion regarding activities, achievements and obstacles in the work of Municipal Assembly and elected officials in Gjilan, for the period June - September 2003. Comparing to the first report the second one contains additional sections such as citizen initiatives in the Gjilan municipality and also reflects the analyses on the elected officials approach toward recommendations addressed in the previous publicized report for the period April –May 2003 and the steps that MA took toward improving citizen lives, increased accountability and transparency.

AdvoNet besides monitoring the work of Municipal Assembly will be oriented also towards monitoring specific issues which are considered as community concerns, meaning monitoring related committees that deal with these specific issues.

Youth Center is focused on monitoring the work of Committee for Culture, Youth, Sports and Gender Issues and the process of setting up youth policies, municipals budget for youth and youth activities.

“Elena Peshkopia” considers that the issue of women education in municipality remains one of core preoccupations, for which Committee for Education should seriously be committed. Precisely this is the field where this NGO has applied its monitoring activities. While, the women NGO “Liria” will be focused on monitoring the Committee for Health and Social Welfare, with special emphasis to the social issues and women sheltering.

AdvoNet would like to praise elected officials for their efforts support and readiness for constructive cooperation and positive approach toward recommendations addressed in the government monitoring report of the April – May period, 2003. Thus, MA last four months took concrete steps on realization of better part of those recommendations such as: town hall meetings, direct transmission of MA plenary sessions through local radio stations which impacted in improving the work of the municipality and increased transparency toward citizens.

The representative of the woman NGO “Elena Peshkopia,” Luljeta Krasniqi, addresses the recommendations to the Committee for the Education regarding the citizen petition of the village Bresalc urging them to for immediate action toward solving the problem, respectively build the bridge over the road, which would prevent accidents in the traffic and will contribute to the children safety of the village Bresalc. “Having in mind the distressing statistics of the fatal accidents in this location, and the fact that students started already their schooling from September month, we think that this presents greater potential risk for students safety. Thus, once again we suggest to the municipal structures to take immediate steps toward resolving this issue and to prevent possible accidents”, emphasized the representative of NGO “Elena Peshkopi.”

Network AdvoNet during their monitoring activities observed few violations of UNMIK regulation 2000/45, and thus call for abiding by this regulation and article 15.3 which decisively requires from MA to make public plenary sessions and the agenda at least 7 days prior to sessions, which will enable enough time to citizens, NGOs and citizen groups to bring forward their viewpoints and suggestions related to the issues that will be discussed at the Assembly. “We strongly recommend MA to abide also by regulation 2000/45, article 16.1 which requires to include in meeting minutes the information on how did each elected official vote regarding an issue, which certainly makes voting results very transparent. The network confirms that for the last four months there hasn’t been shown any progress in voter process improvements, which still remains one of the main challenges for the officials itself”.

Meanwhile, considering youth issues, the representative of the Youth Center, Lumnije Jerliu, praises MA efforts for resolving temporary the issue of the Youth Center premises, but calls out for grater serious approach in solving this issue in long-term period.



Committee for the Protection of Human Rights

Press statement

Monitoring of Obilic Municipal Assembly

Monday, September 23rd, 2003, Obilic

Committee for the Protection of Human Rights-CPHR in Obilic, is a local Serb NGO involved in the monitoring of the Obilic Municipal Assembly work, benefiting NDI assistance involving trainings and expertise on government monitoring tactics and methodologies aiming to have informed citizenry towards and increased accountability and transparency of the governing institutions and elected officials.

CPHR based on its findings and observations released in the third report on the monitoring of the Obilic Municipal Assembly assesses that there was an overall improvement in last three months despite some of the challenges and obstacles.

“Municipal Assembly made few steps forward toward having a better communication with citizens by holding its first town hall meeting in Obilic, where citizens took the opportunity to discuss issues of concern and possible solutions”, stated Mr. Todorovic, president of the CPHR.

“Although Assembly improved its work in many ways, CPHR considers that it should continue putting efforts to develop interaction with citizens and to find the way for participation of Serb’s community representatives within two Assembly Committees for Communities and Mediation, as crucial for solving problems of the Serb community”, emphasized Boban Stankovic, the secretary of the CPHR.

Committee for protection of Human Rights prepared list of recommendation that would help improve the work of the Assembly and build a democratic and stable government.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- MA should find solution for participation of representatives of Serbian community within Committees for Communities and Mediation. These are crucial committees for exercising Human Rights and integration of the minorities. In addition, both these Committees are foreseen with 2000/45 UNMIK Regulation. CPHR will during September organize public debate between Serb citizens and appointed persons for these Assembly Committees aimed to resolve this standing issues;

- Assembly to put serious effort in preparing accurate Assembly minutes as it was also requested by the MA members;
- Assembly to foster the relationship and cooperation with NGOs, and utilize NGOs support in organizing town hall meetings (such as announcing; invitations; preparing agendas; etc);
- CPHR suggests to members of Local Community Office-LCO for Serb community to consider seriously possibilities to return it facilities to MA building on behalf of community members itself and as a way to support the process of Serb integration within Obilic larger community.
- Obilic MA and their Committees should establish mechanism for participation of citizens in identifying issues, setting priorities, budget allocation and public policies for 2004. International experience has taught us that public opinion surveys and polls, public debates and regular meetings with citizens, NGOs and stakeholders are useful and important towards incorporating civil society input into decision-making processes;
- Assembly and Committees should invite experts, both local and international, including professional institutions when discussing certain issues and concerns as part of their regular work;
- International and domestic organizations to continue to provide trainings for the assembly members and civil servants especially on: legal framework; executive oversight; constituent relations and public relations.